

## Class Forces in Hungarian Revolution

(See Page 2)

## The UN - Ally of Hungarian Reaction

An Editorial

The United States, the capitalist power which dominates the United Nations, has demonstrated marked enthusiasm for the idea that the UN should "lend a hand" to the beleaguered Hungarian people. At the same time right-wing CP and outright pro-capitalist counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary have also called for UN intervention.

The government of Imre Nagy, which represented that section of the native Stalinist bureaucracy that tried to save itself from the masses by breaking with the Kremlin, appealed, as one of its last acts, for UN troops to be sent into Hungary.

The illusion that the UN is a force for peace and justice has long been nurtured by both the Kremlin and the international social democracy. Many workers have, as a result, fallen victim to this reactionary deception. Dispatches from Hungary indicate that even some revolutionary elements in the streets of Budapest have echoed the sentiment for UN aid against the Soviet troops.

During the days of the League of Nations, Lenin accurately described that body as an imperialist "thieves kitchen." The description retains full validity for the UN. The record of the UN demonstrates that any intervention on its part in the Hungarian revolution would be only for the purpose of strengthening the hand of the capitalist restorationist forces as against that of the workers who fight the Kremlin in order to build socialism.

Starting with a million dollar handout from Washington, the UN is now organizing relief for Hungary. The New York Times reported Nov. 14 that acceptance of this relief by the present Hungarian government is viewed by the UN Secretary-General as a possible "opening wedge" to getting UN "observers" into Hungary to check the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the holding of free elections.

The alleged concern of the UN top echelons for national rights and free elections is an utter fraud. When, for example, have the leaders of the UN expressed any concern over securing the withdrawal of the murderous French troops from Algeria? When have they displayed any interest in free elections in South Korea, in Formosa or a dozen other countries where tyrants rule in behalf of Western imperialism?

On Nov. 8, the press reported a final appeal from a besieged rebel station in Hungary. Addressed to the Soviet troops, the appeal declared in part: "Soldiers! Your state has been created at the cost of bloody fighting in order that you shall have freedom. Today is the 39th anniversary of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not the factory proprietors, not the landowners and not the bourgeoisie that has taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, fighting desperately for the same rights for which you fought in 1917. Soviet soldiers, you have shown in Stalingrad how you could defend your country. Do not take up arms against the Hungarian nation."

It is in this spirit of working class internationalism that class-conscious workers everywhere must give aid to the Hungarian revolutionists.

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX - No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1956

Price 10 Cents

## Kremlin Tanks Fail to Crush General Strike in Hungary

### A Report from England on Workers' Demonstrations Against Egyptian War

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, Nov. 6 —

"In 1939 the British went to war as a united people; they will not do so today." With this sentence the "Manchester Guardian" began its editorial the day after the French and British Governments launched their imperialist adventure in the Middle East.

This is Britain's most unpopular war. The working class, large sections of the middle class and the youth are all opposed to it. "Millions of British people are deeply shocked at the aggressive policy of the Government," said Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the Labor Party leader, in the House of Commons. For the first time in its history the Parliamentary Labor Party is officially opposing a war after it has started. That is a measure of the mountain of opposition existing in this country against the cynical and brutal attack on Egypt.

Mass political action can quickly develop out of that opposition. Demonstrations are being called by the labor movement in all British cities. Twenty thousand Londoners assembled on Trafalgar Square last Sunday to hear Aneurin Bevan attack the Government's war policy. Thousands marched down Whitehall (where principal government buildings are located) afterwards and were charged by mounted police.

#### WANT GENERAL STRIKE

In the trade unions and in the Labor Party, support for a general strike against the war is widespread. Numerous resolutions have been passed in trade union and local Labor Party branches. The Executive of the Fire Brigades Union yesterday demanded a general strike to force the Eden Government to resign. South Wales and Scottish miners are demanding industrial action. "The workers must strike," declared Mr. W. W. Hamilton, M.P. at a meeting in West Fife, the Scottish coal-mining area, "I think there is



Main Auditorium at the UN

The eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly opened in this hall Nov. 12 with the Egyptian and Hungarian crises as the main points on its agenda. The fundamental power in the UN, however, resides not in the General Assembly but in the Security Council whose permanent members are the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The United States is presently utilizing the UN to secure its imperialist interests in the Middle East and to exploit for its reactionary anti-Soviet aims the Kremlin's fierce attack on the Hungarian revolution for national independence.

(See Editorials On the Role of the UN This Page and Page 3.)

nothing more terrible than the prospect of a world war, and if that is agreed, then we should shrink from no attempt to stop it."

To be sure, Gaitskell has informed the Government that the Labor leadership will keep the opposition to the war within "constitutional channels." The National Council of Labor—a body composed of leaders of the Labor Party, the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement—has opposed industrial action to end the war. Talk of "constitutionalism," however rings a little hollow. The Government has gone to war in the teeth of widespread opposition embracing a majority of the population. The ranks of the labor movement recognize that something more than speeches is necessary to stop this desperate imperialist gamble in the Middle East.

The first demonstration—strike against the war will take

place this afternoon. The workers in the 50 factories of the new post-war town of Crawley, near London, will down tools at 2:30 today for a march to the Town Center. Tomorrow the building workers of Liverpool will stop work and demonstrate. These are short stoppages. Only a few tens of thousands of workers involved. But they are the first political strikes in Britain since before the war and they cannot fail to act as a spur to other sections of the working class.

The youth, particularly the student youth, have been foremost in protesting against the war. Demonstrations have taken place in all the University cities. In Edinburgh, and others, there were battles between the demonstrators and reactionary gangs of government supporters. A one day strike of all Asian and African students in Britain has been called for tomorrow.

Many British students are expected to join it.

It should be added that events in Hungary have had their effect. Undoubtedly, the student demonstrations were inspired by the heroism of the Hungarian youth. And the example of mass action in Hungary heightens the receptivity among the workers to the idea of mass action against the Government here.

British imperialism embarked on this war against the Arab people in a desperate attempt to preserve a toe-hold in the Middle East. In doing so it has unleashed forces at home which, in a very short period, can be threatening its very existence.

#### IN THIS ISSUE

Israel's Role In Mid-East Crisis See page 3

## Regime Now Offering Concessions; Peasants Are Feeding Strikers

NOV. 15 — As we go to press, dispatches from Hungary indicate that the workers, students and peasants now have a good chance of winning at least part of their demands. The renewed offer of concessions by the Kadar government is a result of the inspiring tenacity with which the workers have kept up their general strike in the face of Soviet tanks. In addition, the resolute action of the workers is getting the support of the peasants. The New York Times reports today that the workers of Csepel declared they were unconcerned by government threats to withhold their wages because "They [the government] cannot starve us out. Farmers are feeding us without payment. They know our cause is theirs."

By George Laván

Nov. 14 — To the world's amazement the Hungarian revolution goes on even though it has been overwhelmed by the huge military forces thrown against it by the Kremlin. Though Russian tanks, planes and artillery succeeded in ten bitter days of fighting in defeating the military resistance of revolutionists, they have been unable to crush the general strike which has spread throughout the country.

Military resistance ended today as the last bastion of the revolution—Csepel Island, the most industrialized section of Hungary—surrendered. Workers there had fortified themselves inside the factories and held the Soviet tanks at bay. Yesterday firing ceased while both sides held their positions. Today the workers laid down their arms and filed out of the great factories. But they came out vowing to continue the general strike until their demands were met.

In Budapest itself, there is similar evidence that military defeat of the revolution has not crushed the morale of the workers and revolutionary youth. Under the very bayonets of the occupying army, they are carrying on an active political struggle marked by mass meetings, leaflet distribution, picketing and extension of the general strike.

#### ZIG ZAG COURSE

The Kremlin bureaucrats appear to be at a loss on how to deal with a national revolution which won't submit even when it has been overwhelmed by naked military force. The quandary in which Stalin's heirs find themselves is shown by the zig-zag course of their puppet regime in Hungary and by the fact that a dozen top Soviet leaders, including Mikoyan, Suslov and possibly Khrushchev, flew to Budapest on Nov. 12 in search of some formula that would end the revolutionary turmoil in the country.

The regime headed by Janos Kadar and backed by the Kremlin has been unable to win any support despite promises, cajolery and threats. As the New York Times of Nov. 13 reported: "The Hungarian government seemed to control little more than the Budapest radio. It had no army, no civil service, nor the slightest vestige of public support."

Since the deposition of the regime of Imre Nagy, which was attempting to ride the revolutionary whirlwind, the Kadar regime has sought to win some semblance of popular support or toleration. At first it promised all the demands of the revolutionists: Hungarian independence, recognition of the workers councils, wage increases, collective-farm reforms, etc., etc.

#### KADAR GETS TOUGH

The gimmick was that the crucial demand without which all others remained in jeopardy—withdrawal of the Soviet Army—was to be negotiated after the revolutionists had laid down their arms and gone back to work. This plus the counter-revolutionary origin of the Kadar regime, which had been imposed on Hungary by the occupying army, set

at naught all the honeyed words and promises addressed by it to the Hungarian masses.

Resistance to the Soviet Army continued; the appeals for an ending of the general strike were fruitless. Thereupon the Kadar regime essayed a get-tough line. On Nov. 10 it proclaimed that the deadline for voluntary surrender by rebels had

(Continued on page 2)

## Montgomery Fighters Win In High Court

NOV. 13—While 64,000 boycotters in Montgomery and Tallahassee are continuing their fight for equality, the Supreme Court today ruled that it is unconstitutional for a state or city to require racial segregation on intrastate buses. The court's unanimous decision was a legal victory for Montgomery's eleven-month-old protest movement which led to this favorable decision.

The court's action affirmed a June 5 decision by a special Montgomery Federal Court which held segregated seating to be illegal. The Supreme Court in upholding equal rights cited its own 1954 decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

The new ruling forbids use of government authority to require segregation on any buses. Racist Southern officials in various states have pledged to maintain the Dixiecrat pattern despite the court's action.

The Supreme Court ruling coincides with the climaxing of attempts to smash the two protest movements, by declaring the Negro voluntary car pools in Montgomery and Tallahassee illegal. The city of Montgomery filed a petition in Circuit Court to dissolve the car pool there. It was directed against the Montgomery Improvement Association which organized the bus protest, and against 13 churches and 23 individuals, including Rev. Martin L. King, MIA president and E. D. Nixon, treasurer. A hearing was set for Nov. 13. The bus company estimated a \$750,000 loss in revenue since the start of the boycott by 50,000 united Negroes with a motor pool of 300 private cars and 25 station wagons.

In Tallahassee, 21 bus boycotters on Oct. 20 were fined \$500 each and 60 days suspended sentences with one year's probation, on charges of running an illegal transportation system. The convictions are being appealed. Rev. C. K. Steele, Tallahassee boycott leader, told a New York meeting yesterday: "We are committed to waging our battle against evil principles. Right cannot be destroyed. Crushed to the ground, it will rise. On a scaffold it will sway the world." Under the banner of "We'll walk in humble dignity rather than ride in shameful humiliation" 14,400 boycotters are staying off the buses. As E. D. Nixon of Montgomery said: "Our people are no longer afraid."

## The Election Results -- Blow to AFL-CIO Policy

By John Thayer

Eisenhower wins by a popular plurality of almost 10 million. The Democrats retain their control of the Senate and House. Republican jubilation is beginning to be countered by liberal and labor claims that the Congressional vote is a great Democratic victory and a "repudiation" of the Republican Party. Leaders of both parties speak in awed voices of Eisenhower's "personality" as an almost suprapolitical factor. What happened in the election and what lessons can workers draw from it?

The obvious fact is that Eisenhower's landslide victory was a stunning defeat for the Democratic Party and in particular for the top officialdom of the labor movement. Instead of yielding more political influence in 1956 when labor is united the labor movement now yields less. One of the prime motives in unification was to strengthen labor's political hand. Yet the AFL-CIO political policy resulted in unprecedented ticket-splitting by union members themselves and by a disastrous melting away of labor's political allies—the Negro people and the working farmers.

#### WAR SCARE FACTOR

The working class vote remained solid enough on the state and Congressional levels to preserve the slim Democratic majorities. But for the enormously powerful office of the presidency felt that the "friendliness" of the Democrat Stevenson to labor was outweighed by the danger that he was more apt to involve the



EISENHOWER

U.S. in war than Republican Eisenhower.

All observers agree that the magnitude of Eisenhower's victory can be credited to the Middle East war scare that dominated the last ten days of the campaign. Millions of undecided voters, or those who lukewarmly were going to vote for Stevenson decided that a vote for Eisenhower was a vote for keeping American boys from being sent to Egypt. Eisenhower's TV-radio promise on Oct. 31 that the U.S. would not be militarily involved reinforced the widespread illusion that he is a "man of peace."

Stevenson's reply, on the other hand, bemoaned the administration's loss of its allies, British and French imperialism, and

made many suspect it was doubletalk in favor of sending troops.

But it is also agreed, and in this case the pollsters would seem to be correct, that even without the Middle East war scare Eisenhower would have won. In all analyses of this mass preference, explanations come back to Eisenhower's "personality" as the deciding factor. Just what is this "personality"? Is it a political or a purely personal attribute?

In the absence of important differences of program between the major parties and in the absence of major economic discontent (which works against the party in office), people, faced with grave problems, are forced to choose between candidates on the basis of their "personalities." Involved here, however, is something quite different from the usual concept of "personality." Here the masses wishfully put into their concept of a candidate's "personality" a political content. The very alternative which they are denied by the similar and meaningless programs of the two parties, they seek to discover in one or the other candidate's "personality."

What is the political content that so many millions of Americans have put into their image of Eisenhower?

#### EISENHOWER POPULARITY

Outstanding is the belief or hope that Eisenhower is a "man of peace." This originated in the 1952 campaign when Eisenhower condemned the Korean War, promised to go to Korea, did so, and later presided over the ending of that war. That Eisenhower was the fortunate

beneficiary of a major change in the foreign policy of Wall Street, which had been stalemated in its war drive by the colonial revolutions and by Soviet atomic development, is not realized by the mass of the American people.

The ending of the Korean war is credited to him personally, as is the subsequent lessening of tensions with the Soviet Union. His pre-election promise that the U.S. would stay out of the Middle East conflict capped the popular conception that "Eisenhower will keep us out of war."

A second element in the public image of Eisenhower is that he is "sincere." This is another way of saying that he is not a "politician." The American people very justifiably have a hearty distrust of capitalist politicians. Eisenhower's non-political background, his supposed lack of relish for "politics," even his golf playing reinforces the popular illusion that he is no politician, but is "above parties," and only concerned with the welfare of the country.

Finally Eisenhower, despite the fact that he heads the Republican Party, does not appear as a reactionary to the public. This is a result of the lack of sharp class conflicts in the general prosperity which has marked his four years in office. Though labor has made no important gains, neither has the steady offensive against it that began during Truman's administration qualitatively increased. Eisenhower's program of "moderation" does not seem much different from Stevenson's program of "moderation."

Moreover, under Eisenhower the extreme right wing of the Republican Party and the

McCarthyites have been pushed into the background.

Of course, the popular conception of Eisenhower is a false one. He is not a man of peace but a militarist. His peace talk has no more validity than did Roosevelt's "I-hate-war" declarations of 1940 or the "He-kept-us-out-of-war" propaganda for Wilson in 1916. The ending of the Korean war and subsequent U.S. policy, including that on the Middle East, is based not on Eisenhower's "love of peace" but on U.S. imperialism's new gambit after the debacle of its old policy in Korea and Indo-China. Should Wall Street's policy require a heating up of the cold war he would preside over new "police actions" just as he presided over the liquidating of the Korean stalemate.

The prosperity that redounds to his popularity is based on the huge armaments budget and economic factors beyond his control. That the anti-labor drive has not accelerated tremendously during his administration is based on the policy of the Eastern wing of the Republican party which pursues an anti-labor program but not at such a reckless pace that it might provoke a major counter-offensive from the workers.

The main credit for Eisenhower's popular "personal" appeal must go to labor's failure to present the American people with a real political alternative. By imprisoning labor in the Democratic Party the union bureaucrats have deprived the American people of real alternatives on the momentous issues confronting them. Can the voters be blamed if, out of wishful thinking, they try to find alternatives



# Hungary -- Rehearsal for Victorious Revolutions

By the Editors

As of this writing, the general strike is still on in Hungary, and it looks as if the Hungarian working class, thanks to its phenomenal tenacity, can avoid a crushing defeat. Their present struggle, properly considered, is only one battle in the political revolution that has steadily been maturing in the Soviet orbit since the East German uprising in 1953. The political revolution aims at clearing the road for a giant leap forward to socialism, by removing the bureaucratic obstacle.

What we have seen in Hungary in the last three weeks, on a far more grandiose scale than the 1953 East German rising, the Poznan general strike demonstrations last June or even the all-national revolutionary development in Poland today, is the dress rehearsal of the political revolution as it will manifest itself in every country of Eastern Europe.

What is the probable course of the revolution? What are its problems? What are its perspectives? This is what all class-conscious workers must turn their attention to, today. For this is the only way that they can prepare for new revolutionary explosions tomorrow.

The slanders of the Kremlin and its agents against the Hungarian masses cannot enlighten anyone. "Fascists, counter-revolutionary agents seizing on the legitimate grievances of workers" declared Nagy, Kadar and by way of echo, the Daily Worker, when on Oct. 23 Hungarian workers and students

rose against Russian troops. "A legitimate revolution unfortunately diverted into a counter-revolutionary channel" proclaimed the Kadar government and the Daily Worker when the Russian troops marched against the revolution again on Nov. 4. How can one derive any lessons from such self-contradictory statements made in service of the bureaucratic oligarchy?

Still the pronouncedly national aspect of the Hungarian revolution as well as the appearance on the political scene of bourgeois politicians and such a representative of the Horthy regime as Cardinal Mindszenty, has troubled many radical workers. What about these elements? What kind of overturn was taking place that permitted Hungarian nationalism to come to the fore and facilitated the reentry on the political arena of the politicians of the overthrown capitalist class? Also, how square a genuine revolutionary development with Nagy's appeal to the United Nations?

Only a review of the background of the uprising in Hungary and the study of the class factors involved in the situation can bring satisfactory answers to these questions. And this is all the more necessary because, we repeat, Hungary is the dress rehearsal for political revolution as it will manifest itself in every East European country. There will be nationalism. There will be bourgeois restorationist elements on the scene. And there will be the same heroism and tenacity of the working class to achieve national independence as a means

of advancing on the road to socialism.

On the basis of the Hungarian experience and also that of the Polish revolutionary development which is unfolding at a slower pace toward the same climax, we can present the following conclusions:

## (1) The National Struggle.

In all East European countries a struggle for national independence is certain to develop. It is true that world imperialism bases its hopes for capitalist restoration in these areas on a nationalist development. But it is also true, that the proletarian movement for workers' democracy and against capitalist restoration will undoubtedly begin as a national independence struggle. The Stalinist method of rule has laid the basis for it.

The Soviet bureaucracy in taking over these countries and integrating them in the Soviet orbit by means of military-bureaucratic overthrows, has at the same time sealed off each country from the other. The Kremlin deliberately prevented the merger of the various national economies into a greater planned whole. Each country was made economically dependent upon the Soviet Union. A strong factor in the Stalin break with Tito in 1948 was the latter's espousal allegedly together with Dimitroff, of a Balkan federation made up of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania. The bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union feared such a development, for it would have immediately confronted them

## Prelude to Hungarian Revolution



The movement of the Polish masses to end Kremlin domination proved a powerful impulse to the present Hungarian workers' revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy and its puppet regime. The above scene shows part of a demonstration of 250,000 Warsaw workers who cheered the news of the Gomułka government's defiance of the Kremlin. The Hungarian workers have intensified the determination of the Polish workers to win a completely, independent socialist Poland.

with a new power within the Soviet orbit. For the working people of the Balkan States, however, such a federation could have allowed planning on a wider arena and made possible a swifter and more balanced economic growth.

The Kremlin geared each one of the "People's Democracies" to the Soviet plan and that on the basis of taking from each national entity without equivalent return. In short, it kept all nations separated in order to plunder them. Each one of the East European satellites contributes either raw materials or industrial goods of prime importance to Soviet economy. Production has increased at a rapid rate since the overturn in property relations. But the workers and peasants in the satellite countries experienced no equivalent gain in living standards. On the contrary, living standards were lowered. At home benefits accrued only to a native caste of bureaucrats subordinate to the Kremlin overlords.

Under the circumstances, a national independence explosion is inevitable. In order to create a voluntary economic federation with the other non-capitalist countries, the Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians and other peoples must first be able to win their national freedom. For the work-

ing class, national independence is a prerequisite for creating its own organizations independent of Kremlin control and for struggling for workers' democracy.

## (2) The Unresolved Civil War in Eastern Europe

It is not yet possible to tell exactly how powerful these forces are in the various national entities. However, it must be kept in mind, that the Soviet occupation in 1945 cut short a class struggle in every Eastern European country that was growing ever sharper and heading for revolutionary solution.

The policy of the Kremlin in these countries was to place a tight lid on these class conflicts, to suppress the contending sides and to prop up, for two years, weak bourgeois regimes on Red Army bayonets. When the Kremlin determined in the face of the cold war launched by Washington to integrate these countries into its socialized property system, this was achieved by bureaucratic-military means. Important segments of the capitalist classes remained that would have lost all authority and standing and would have been disposed of in an authentic revolutionary development.

These capitalist remnants could and did identify themselves with

the slogan for national independence as a means of pursuing their aims of capitalist restoration. Thus, despite diametric opposition of class aims and interests, working class elements and potential restorationist elements both stood for national independence. Once the Kremlin lid was blown off, all class elements entered the open arena. The only people driven off was that clique in the native bureaucracy that was completely tied to the Kremlin.

## (3) The Working Class in the Revolution

The working class contributed to the Hungarian and Polish revolutions what it has contributed in all other national revolutions of our time — namely, the effective fighting forces and proletarian methods of struggle. It launched the general strike on the background of which the actual fighting took place. (Even now that the fighting has stopped the general strike continues to exert enormous pressure on the Kadar-Kremlin regime.) The working class also took the lead in the actual military fighting as indicated by the fact that Csepel Island — "Red Csepel," the greatest heavy industry complex in Hungary, located near Budapest — began the armed struggle and was the last to down arms.

In all factories, workers created their embryonic organs of power — the factory committees, akin to the soviets created by the Russian workers in 1917. The factory councils joined on an area-wide basis with student and soldier delegations. These three elements, the worker, the student and the soldier were the active fighters for the revolution and joined together to form local governing bodies — the revolutionary councils.

In all major industrial areas the basic aims of the workers — to establish a democracy on the foundations of the socialized property relations — became the aim of the revolutionary councils. All the evidence attests to that. What the workers lacked, however, was national organization, a nation-wide revolutionary party, and a strategy for the establishment of clear-cut workers' power, for the solution of economic problems and for the extension of the Hungarian revolution into the rest of Eastern Europe and the Soviet heartland itself.

In the nation as a whole, the most articulate elements were petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who gave expression to the workers'

needs and desires only in an extremely distorted way.

## (4) The Bureaucratic Caste and the Communist Party.

The ruling Communist Party disintegrated under the hammer blows of the revolution. Indeed, the revolutionary development in Hungary as well as Poland was anticipated by deep ferment within the party, which took open expression at public meetings and in the party newspapers and which the secret police could no longer control. In the revolution, the worker and student members went with the working class. CP members in many cases came to the head of factory and area-wide revolutionary councils. They were well represented in every one of these councils.

The bureaucracy proper, however, produced no wing that could give clear voice, organization and direction to the socialist aspiration of the workers. One wing stood deposed by the population. This was the Rakosi-Gero faction closely associated with the hated AVH, the secret police. Factory managers who robbed the workers were likewise universally hated. After he formed his government on the bayonets of the Russians, Kadar had to solemnly promise that none of these elements would be returned to power.

The other wing, around Nagy, was heavily weighted with intellectuals and liberal government servants of the old days. Their essential outlook is that of bourgeois democrats with a vague socialist ideology. The Stalinist popular front ideology was an organic part of their political make-up. Freed from Kremlin domination by the revolution, they immediately gravitated to all the old capitalist politicians and sought to establish some kind of government with their aid. They looked for the guarantee of national independence and economic survival to the West and called on the United Nations for aid against the Kremlin.

## (5) The Capitalist Restorationist Elements.

It is difficult to appraise their specific weight, how much reinforcement they received from emigres who crossed into Hungary from Austria, etc. But these main facts emerge: (a) They had no property base in the country. (b) They possessed a high degree of political consciousness and the will to exploit the national aspirations of the population to serve their own reactionary political and economic aims. (c) They gravitated toward and sought to infiltrate the Nagy government as the best means of influencing the political direction of the country.

## (6) The Peasantry.

The Hungarian peasants seized the opportunity of the revolution to abandon the collective farms and restore individual landholdings. In that way they escaped from the system of "collectivized agriculture" which, as far as they were concerned, was nothing but a "collectivized" way of robbing them. The collective farm system brought them no benefits, since it was not based on a higher technology (tractors, etc.). That the peasants look to the working class for leadership in the national struggle against the Kremlin, however, is fully attested by their delivery of food to the workers engaged in the general strike. Once the working class takes full power in the country, it will be able to guide the peasantry to a socialist course through a wise policy of persuasion and economic benefits.

## (7) A Three-Way Struggle.

The three elements in the situation were thus the Kremlin

with its army; the working class in possession of the factories and organizing through their own workers' Councils, which in turn were proceeding to create a nation-wide centralized organization of councils; and the Nagy government around which bourgeois restorationist elements had rallied. Had the Kremlin stayed out of the national picture, the class struggle that had been driven underground by the Soviet occupation in 1945 between the working class and the capitalist class would have inevitably broken out again in full force.

As we wrote in an editorial in the Nov. 5 Militant, all the advantages were on the side of the workers. The specific weight of the working class organized in its councils and in emerging independent unions; the socialized property foundations associated with working class power; the clear signs of revolutionary working class ferment throughout the entire Soviet orbit (a factor which has undoubtedly sustained the working class in its heroic stand against the Kremlin); the growing debilitation of capitalism and its lack of attractive appeal throughout the world — all these gave an enormous edge to the working class. How deeply embedded the socialized property is in the consciousness of the population can be judged by the fact that even the arch-reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty had to avow loyalty to these forms (in order, of course, to try surreptitiously to undermine them).

However, it would still have required a struggle to dislodge all capitalist elements and defeat them once for all. Leninists do not give guarantees that the workers would emerge victorious in the battle. But it is the heart of Marxism-Leninism that with the working class (not its bureaucratic misleaders and oppressors) lies all progressive solutions in modern society. It is their task to elaborate a program and build a party that expresses with the highest degree of consciousness possible the tasks of the working class in the political revolution against Stalinism. Armed with such a program, there is no question of the victory of the workers over bourgeois restorationists and Kremlin bureaucrats alike. By its armed intervention the Kremlin bureaucracy sought to drive the embryonic class struggle underground again.

## (8) Why the Kremlin Sent the Troops Against the Rising.

There is no doubt that the Soviet bureaucracy feared a capitalist restoration in Hungary. But they feared the working class councils even more. They feared most of all the creation by the Hungarian workers of an authentic Leninist party and the defeat of capitalist restoration by a genuine workers' power headed by a Leninist party. For such a government would have unhesitatingly proceeded to an internationalist appeal to the workers everywhere in the Soviet orbit and throughout the world. It would have become the first system of revolutionary international socialism — the nemesis of the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy.

## Lessons of October

Trotsky's concise story of the struggle among the Bolshevik leaders in 1917 over the organization of the insurrection and the seizure of power . . . The historic essay which precipitated the bitter fight between Trotsky and the Stalin bureaucracy.

125 pages \$4.00 postpaid

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University PL  
New York 3, N. Y.

## The I. W. W. The Great Anticipation

By James P. Cannon

"The bold design of the IWW was drawn by Bill Haywood, who presided at the Founding Convention. . . In his opening remarks, calling the convention to order, he said: ' . . . We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism.'"

Cannon tells how the IWW struggled to realize the "bold design", how much has been achieved since, and what further forms the working class struggle must take to bring it about.

44 pages

25 cents

Order from:

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

## World Capitalism Exploiting Kremlin's Attack on Hungary

By Fred Halstead

The Kremlin's brutal attack on the Hungarian revolution, is being used by capitalists here and abroad to launch physical assaults on Communist Party organizations and sympathizers, to organize anti-socialist, pro-imperialist war demonstrations, and to increase propaganda against socialism and the Soviet Union as such. It is the duty of radical workers in the capitalist countries to condemn and expose these hypocritical enemies of the Hungarian and world working class, to spurn their demonstrations, and to defend all working-class organizations, including the Communist parties, against their attacks.

The latest such attack occurred outside a meeting held by the National Council of Amer-

ican Soviet Friendship Nov. 13 in New York. A crowd organized by the Committee of One Million (formed to keep Chiang Kai-Shek's Formosa regime in China's U.N. seat), threw tomatoes, eggs and a bottle of ammonia at persons entering the hall to hear Paul Robeson and Rev. William Howard Melish speak on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The manager of the building announced he would not rent to the council in the future. That violation of the rights of free speech and assembly can only

hurt the entire working class. CP workers here who do not understand the validity of the Hungarian revolution must be convinced through discussion, and the rights of all tendencies within the working class to present their views must be defended.

In France, a so-called "pro-Hungary" demonstration sponsored by prominent French capitalist politicians and generals on Nov. 7 turned into a physical attack on the headquarters of the Communist Party in Paris. A crowd of 3,000 shouted "The police are with us," and "Dissolve the Communist Party" as they burned and sacked the party headquarters and the offices of the party newspaper, L'Humanite, according to the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times.

A much larger demonstration by Communist workers the next night defended the headquarters, and Paris printers called a 24-hour general strike to protest the attack on L'Humanite. The same pattern of events occurred throughout the country. The fact that the major working-class party of France was made the victim of physical attacks shows the real anti-working class aims of capitalist demonstrations against the Kremlin's crimes.

In Argentina, the semi-dictatorship of Gen. Aramburu hid behind the Hungarian events to bar the Communist Party from participation in the next elections saying that "the events in Europe prove that the Communist Party is not a democratic party." The Argentine people are not to be allowed to make that judgment by themselves, and civil liberties are dealt a blow.

The capitalist inspired demonstrations invariably attempt to make a hero of Cardinal Mindszenty, whom the revolution freed along with all other prisoners. "Mindszenty was an almost medieval figure. . . He antagonized not only the Communists, but the larger number of Hungarian democrats who . . . in any case wished as strongly as the Communists themselves to transform the semi-feudal and chauvinist Hungary which the Cardinal seemed to defend." (Quoted in the Nov. 12 I.F. Stone's Weekly from a book by Hugh Seton-Watson.)

The long-range plans of U.S. capitalism have for the last ten years envisaged military attack on the Soviet orbit, not to liberate the people there from Stalinist oppression, but to re-establish capitalist exploitation. Hence their heroes are Mindszenty and his like. As the Kremlin clamps the lid on the workers' struggle in Hungary, the clerico-fascists and capitalists are emboldened to pose as friends of the revolution. A victory of the Hungarian workers over the Kremlin, on the other hand, would soon enough expose their hypocrisy.

## British YCL Convention

(The following account is reprinted from the Nov. 2 Tribune, published by the Bevan wing of the Labor Party. It was written by Y.C.L. member present at the Congress. — Ed.)

While events in Hungary were shocking the world, a dozen delegates to the Congress of the Young Communist League in Britain tried to table an emergency resolution at their Conference. It was:

"This Congress of the YCL expresses its solidarity with the youth of Poland and Hungary in their fight for freedom, democracy and Socialism."

"We condemn the use of Soviet troops in the Hungarian People's Republic and demand their immediate withdrawal."

"We are confident that the people of Hungary will not allow the forces of reaction to use the justifiable grievances of the Hungarian people, in order to re-establish capitalism in Hungary."

The standing orders committee refused to place the resolution on the agenda. It was here that John Gollan — general secretary of the Communist Party — intervened.

Ostensibly, he was bringing Congress fraternal greetings from the party. In fact, his speech was planned to suppress discussion on the events in eastern Europe, which have shaken and dismayed members of the YCL and the CP.

SLANDERS HUNGARY

Gollan's job was to lay the basis for an acceptance of the standing orders committee decision. This he did by a speech in which he distorted the nature of the uprising in Hungary, slandered the supporters of the resolution as aiding reaction, and made a demagogic appeal to the anti-capitalist sentiments of delegates.

He revealed himself as a man who has learned nothing and forgotten nothing of Stalinism since the 20th Congress, as a man just as ready today, as he was yesterday, to denounce as fascists all opponents of bureaucracy.

The revolt in Hungary, Gollan declared, was a "reactionary

counter-revolution and Fascist in character." The Soviet troops were defending Socialism and freedom.

History, of course, quickly caught up with John Gollan. The very same day that he made his speech, Nagy himself was forced to announce that the Hungarian events "were not counter-revolution, but a democratic movement which had spread over the whole country."

The report of Gollan's speech in the Daily Worker last Monday was edited accordingly. It gave the impression that Gollan had concentrated in attacking the hypocrisy of the Western powers. All reference to his fierce denunciation of the Hungarian uprising as counter-revolution was deleted.

Nothing at all was said about the emergency resolution. Thirty-four out of 141 delegates voted in favor of discussing the emergency resolution. Those 34 votes, cast after the denunciations of Gollan, are a significant measure of the growing desire in the League for principled policies.

YCL readers of Tribune, having now read the suppressed resolution, should discuss it in their branches and protest to the National Committee.

League policy for a cut in conscription was given a hammering in the branches before the Congress [by those in favor of an outright end to conscription — Ed.]. In face of feeling in the ranks, the platform produced a compromise resolution with the aim of eventual abolition.

This was carried after the supporters of a cut and nothing more were overwhelmingly defeated, and a resolution demanding immediate abolition gained 68 votes.

The insincerity of those controlling the League and the Party was shown in the elections for the National Committee. Our leaders have talked a lot about the need for "collective leadership." But the panels committee excluded any Merseyside delegates from the National Committee.

The reason was clear. These

delegates had led the fight on abolition of conscription, on the demand for a full study of past struggles in the Soviet Communist Party, had demanded a Marxist explanation of Stalin's crimes, a more political League, and had raised the issue of Hungary.

Merseyside was denounced in secret session. After protests and an uproar, allegations that they were influenced by "hostile elements" were withdrawn. But the Liverpool delegates were refused the right to speak to Congress on these allegations.

For the first time members of the League entered the arena of political controversy at their own Congress. This cannot fail to whet their appetite, and increase their desire for that genuine inner democracy which is absolutely necessary for a Socialist youth

movement.

Thirty-eight votes were cast against the panels commission report and against the dictatorial attitude of the platform.

The three elements in the situation were thus the Kremlin

## 3,000 Italian CPers Quit Over Hungary

The Kremlin's bloody role in Hungary has had a disastrous effect on Communist Parties throughout the world. In England many union leaders, staff members of the Daily Worker, prominent intellectuals and rank-and-file have resigned from the CP. The Italian CP is similarly shaken. The N.Y. Times reports that in the province of Rovigo alone over 3,000 have quit in protest. In Mantua, a CP stronghold in the industrial north, the local organization has condemned the Kremlin.

The French CP also is apparently in serious trouble. A day of strikes and demonstrations called by it for Nov. 13, interpreted as expressing support for the Soviet suppression of the Hungarians, was almost totally ignored by the French working class. Polish CP circles, hostile to the unreconstructed Stalinist leadership of the French party, claim the latter has lost about half of its members.

## ... In Hungary

(Continued from page 1)

ended, henceforth those found resisting would be subject to summary execution. Moves to starve out the strikers were begun. Civil service workers were ordered to report for work at once or forfeit all back pay and pension rights.

The defense minister, who had no army since it was all on the side of the revolution, ordered the dissolution of the revolutionary councils in the Hungarian army. It was announced that the workers' councils would in the future each have a government advisor with veto power assigned to them. Glowing figures of an alleged back-to-work movement were broadcast and failure of services, the trains for example, was ascribed to the activities of "armed anarchists."

But the Kadar regime's threats carried no more influence than had its promises. Fighting ended only as the Soviet military machine ruthlessly rolled over the last-ditch resistance fighters. The general strike, instead of diminishing, increased in solidarity and scope. It was as if the Kadar government were broadcasting its threats into a dead microphone.

Now the Kadar regime appears to have reverted to its earlier tactic of trying with promises to persuade the workers to go back to work. It is also reported, on what appears to be credible grounds, that Kadar has approached deposed Premier Nagy, now a refugee in the Yugoslav embassy, with a proposition for his entry into the cabinet. Apparently these overtures to Nagy coincided with the emergency flight of the Kremlin delegation to Budapest. It is to be noted that the Kadar regime since its installation by the Soviet army has promised that it would be a multi-party regime. One of its members is a former Social-Democrat.

## WORKING CLASS ACTIVE

Other cabinet posts have been left open for representatives of other parties. To date, however,

Kadar has been unsuccessful in persuading any other representatives to join his popularly hated government.

In Ujpest, a working class suburb of Budapest, where the revolutionists surrendered on Nov. 13, a mass meeting held the next day vowed to continue the general strike. Similarly in Budapest the organization of Hungarian journalists, who mostly are members of the Communist Party, declared its support of the ousted Nagy regime and demanded withdrawal of Russian troops as the prerequisite for peace in Hungary. Next day (Nov. 14) the journalists and printers of the government's newspaper, Szabad Nep, which had appeared since Nov. 4 when Soviet troops entered the city, joined the nation-wide general strike.

Despite the occupation by Russian troops intense political activity was going on in Budapest. On Nov. 12 leaflets were widely distributed urging solidarity with the general strike. At most factories pickets guarded the gates to prevent entry of strikebreakers. An attempt to start up some of the city's street cars resulted in their being overturned and set afire.

A manifesto issued on Nov. 14 by "the workers' councils of Buda" (Buda and Pest are twin cities on opposite sides of the Danube) indicates a limiting of the workers' political demands. It offers the beginning of work in clearing up the debris in the bombed and shelled city and the delivery of food and fuel supplies. However, it declares that ending the general strike is contingent upon the granting of four demands: 1) Reorganization of the Kadar government to meet the will of the people. 2) Free elections for parties which have declared their readiness to accept the country's "socialist achievements." 3) Release of Nagy and all insurgents. 4) Immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest and negotiations for their withdrawal from all of Hungary.



# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468  
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
 Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Volume 20 - No. 47

Monday, November 19, 1956

## No UN Intervention in Egypt!

The movement of the Arab peoples to win national independence from Western imperialism is a major contribution to the advance of world socialism. It should have the full support of class-conscious workers and revolutionary socialists in all countries. Right now such support means complete, unambiguous opposition to the U.S.-inspired machinations of the United Nations in Egypt which are designed to thwart the colonial revolution in the Arab world.

Effective support to the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptian people means opposition to the presence of any occupying forces in Egypt, no matter what armament they may wear. We oppose stationing UN troops in Egypt — just as we oppose the French and British presence there — and favor the immediate withdrawal of the U. S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. These are essential steps toward peace in the Middle East.

When the Suez Canal was nationalized last June the Western imperialists tried to use the UN as the vehicle for regaining control of the canal in total disregard of the rights of the Egyptian people. Then the British and French imperialists, whose holdings were most directly linked to the fate of the canal, decided that the UN maneuvers were futile. In collusion with the Ben-Gurion government of Israel, they launched their treacherous attack on Egypt. Their objective was to seize the canal and to topple the Nasser government. A combination of powerful forces prevented them from attaining their objectives.

### WHAT STOPPED INVASION

Despite the misleading headlines in the daily press, the imperialist forces met far stiffer resistance from the Egyptian people than they anticipated. They also ran into the obstacle of Soviet military aid to the Arab peoples and the refusal of U.S. imperialism to throw its vast forces behind them. And at the same time they were hit by powerful opposition at home. This was particularly true in England where the workers, supported by significant sections of the middle class and the youth, demonstrated in no uncertain terms their opposition to the whole reactionary business.

With these crushing blows to British and French strength in the Middle East, the United States is now moving ahead to exploit the situation for its own reactionary aims. Washington now takes over direction of the strategy for safeguarding the general interests of imperialism against the Arab revolution. (In the process it will move to cut down even further the already shrunken stature of its "junior partners" in crime — Britain and France.)

The U.S. State Department refused to go along with the British-French invasion of Egypt, reported James Reston, chief Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times recently, because it considered war with Egypt over the canal too risky. It preferred "to bring Nasser of Egypt down by the slow policy of economic pressure."

Now with the efforts to dispatch an "international police force" to Egypt, Wash-

ington plans to add a new means of pressure to its arsenal. The terms of the UN occupation of Egypt, as of this writing, "remained to be settled." But the terms will not be made by UN Secretary Hammarskjöld. The real "bargaining" will now begin between the U.S. and Nasser who stands as the titular leader of the Arab independence movement.

Nasser represents the interests not of the Arab masses of Egypt but that of the Egyptian capitalists who have limited their demands on the imperialists to modest increases in their share of the profits to be made in the country. But with the rising power of Arab nationalism and the development of the stalemate in the cold war, the capitalist class for whom Nasser speaks, began to make increased demands on the plunderers of their people. Pushed by the mass movement behind him, Nasser went so far as to defy Washington's edict by accepting military aid from the Soviet Union and by nationalizing the Suez Canal.

### WASHINGTON'S DEMANDS

On the basis of current reports, negotiations are taking place with both Egypt and the British-French-Israeli forces as to the basis of the UN occupation force. While there are ambiguities in the situation, this much is clear: U.S. policy makers, who call the tune in the United Nations, will not permit the presence of the UN troops to result in the strengthening of the Arab independence movement. On the contrary, these troops (backed by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, which has remained in the Mediterranean since the close of World War II), will be used by the U.S. to exert the maximum pressure possible on Nasser.

The UN troops are being sent to take over military positions held by the French, British and Israeli, supposedly to prevent further aggression against Egypt. Actually the UN troops will be occupiers themselves, and their very presence will be a trigger for renewed conflict.

From this vantage point the U.S. will try to extract maximum concessions from Nasser. Washington will demand that he obey its orders and stop accepting aid from the Soviet Union. Washington will seek to use any concessions wrung from Egypt against the national independence movement in the rest of the Middle East, where the U.S. has gigantic oil holdings.

Despite its present "bargaining" posture, the basic role of the U.S. is that of an imperialist aggressor. The masses of the Arab people are demanding national independence. They want to clean out all the parasites, foreign and native, that have bled them dry for so long. They want to establish governments of their own free choice and to end the poverty, disease and ignorance brought to them by imperialist rule. This is what Wall Street, through the medium of the UN, is trying to prevent.

What the British and French tried to accomplish in the Middle East with one desperate lunge, the U.S. is trying to accomplish in stages through the instrumentality of the UN. This is no less reactionary.

# Dobbs Explains Israel Issue

(In response to Farrell Dobbs' Nov. 3 broadcast on the Middle Eastern war, we have received several letters criticizing his stand on Israel. We print one such letter from R. M. R. in Philadelphia and Farrell Dobbs' reply. — Ed.)

Mr. Farrell Dobbs,

I accuse you of base inaccuracies in your speech today. (1) The Israel armed forces advanced into the Sinai Peninsula to destroy the bases of the Egyptian Commandos, not to "filch an oil well or two." (2) The Arabian workers and farmers are not engaged in a revolution. I wish they were.

Israel is practicing more Socialism than you know about and would want to see that order spread to the Arab countries. She has asked for direct peace talks but none were forthcoming—only more molestation and provocation. Even a socialist country has to fight for its life.

Instead of supporting this little country pioneering in a Socialist pattern, you see fit to lie about its intentions. A number of our friends (thinking Socialists) live in Israel and they write me about the terror of the border marauders. They would want to live in peace with their neighbors as they feel they have common problems etc.

R. M. R.

### DOBBS' REPLY

Dear R. M. R.,

I assume you say Israel practices socialism because of the existence there of some 200 Kibbutzim (communal farms), and because a large part of its agriculture and heavy industry has been financed by the Israeli labor organization, Histadrut, or possibly because the Israeli government is at present administered by a coalition of labor parties.

The Kibbutzim never constituted the major section of Palestine's or Israel's agriculture and have taken a sharp drop in importance relative to other farming methods over recent years.

The role of Histadrut in financing industries in Israel is no different in principle from

the investments that labor unions here make with their accumulated dues money. Because relatively few large capitalists are willing to invest in Israel and because much of the gift money from Zionists throughout the world is donated through labor organizations, Histadrut has come to own a considerable share of the country's industry. But it invests and controls on a capitalist basis, in many cases jointly with foreign capitalists. Far from developing socialism, it has developed capitalism in Israel by taking on those functions which capitalists were unable to undertake, but which were necessary to allow the capitalist sectors of the economy to grow. The Histadrut leaders in the Government play the same role.

In addition, there is a class of private owners in Israel which dominates whole industries and exploits labor for private accumulation. There is a full-blown class struggle between all capitalist elements and their agents in the labor bureaucracy on the one hand, and the workers on the other.

I think the vast majority of Israeli workers want to establish a socialist order. But even if they nationalized the industries under the control of factory committees and operated them on the basis of a national plan, they would not yet have socialism.

Socialism is a higher form of society than capitalism. It must be based on the highest technology that capitalism has developed. It cannot be developed in a single country—especially in a tiny country like Israel. For Israeli workers—just as for workers in any other country—to help bring socialism about, they must solidarily themselves with every other part of the world-wide struggle for socialism.

From this point of view, it is morally and practically indefensible for Israeli socialists to support the invasion of Egypt. Whatever the immediate reason the Israeli government leaders had for invading Egypt's Sinai peninsula (and territorial ex-

pansion in the Sinai peninsula was a big part of it in my opinion), the major purpose and result of the action was to provide cover for the British-French invasion of the Suez Canal Zone.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt was a symbol of the desires of the Arab people to own their own resources. The largest mass demonstrations of Arab workers and farmers in history hailed the action. The socialist thing for Israel to do would have been to support this progressive step. It also would have been the most practical thing to do from the point of view of the defense of the lives, living standards, and future of the Israeli workers, for it would have begun to win the hearts of the Arab masses.

The vast majority of the Arabs who surround Israel are work-

ers and poor farmers who live in the most terrible conditions of poverty, social backwardness, and political oppression. They are kept in this condition primarily by British, French and United States imperialisms which rob their countries of natural resources and restrict economic and social development. This is done by supporting the most reactionary sections of Arab society, by economic sanctions (such as U.S. withdrawal of Aswan Dam aid to Egypt), and where possible, by military decree.

The Arab masses have been engaged in a struggle for national independence for several years now. All Middle East politics has been dominated by this struggle, and will continue to be until it is completed. It can only be completed, however, by the Arab working class leading the peas-

antry for at one point or another in the struggle, the Egyptian capitalists (whom Nasser represents) will prove to be too closely tied to imperialism, and will have to be removed as an obstacle to victory. The Arab struggle for national independence is thus integrally connected with the socialist revolution.

The Israeli working class should cherish and help develop the Arab independence movement. That is the road to socialism and the only road to peace in the Middle East. As long as as the Arab masses believe Israel is an agent of imperialism, they will support attacks against it. Unfortunately, the recent Israeli action has given them ample reason for that belief.

Farrell Dobbs

## Ohio Reader Comments On Hallinan's Letter

(We publish below a letter from a Militant reader in Ohio, commenting on Vincent Hallinan's letter that appeared in the Oct. 22 issue of the Militant. We published comments from George Breitman, former Militant editor, and from a Seattle Reader in last week's issue. — Ed.)

Editor:

While agreeing with Mr. Hallinan that "Left" groups should be able to take common action to promote common objectives like civil liberties and civil rights, I think that many of the ideas expressed in his letter published by you in the issue of October 22 are extremely harmful to real Socialist unity.

For instance, Hallinan objects to the Militant's criticism of the CP, SP, SLP and Progressive Party—but he does not say that these criticisms are wrong. He seems to think that the way for groups to achieve united action is to avoid mention of issues separating them. This may be true when such issues are of purely academic interest. But it is very false when these issues are the very basis of a group's politics.

Hallinan may disagree with the proposition that "crossing class lines in politics leads to betrayal of the interests of the working class"—if so, I would be interested in seeing his views on this point. But does he really disagree, that, if it is true, it is the duty of a Socialist party to say so, and to warn against this betrayal? Can socialism be harmed by the truth, even if it is unpleasant and offends some peo-

ple? Let Hallinan remember the irreparable harm done to thousands of sincere Progressives and Communists by those of their trusted leaders who knew the true nature of Stalinism but concealed the facts from the members of their parties.

Just as Hallinan wishes to ignore the facts about the political parties of the American "Left," he also seems to cut himself off from the facts both of world politics and of history. But socialists cannot even dream of posing problems on the basis of one country at one moment of time. The problems of the death agony of capitalism are worldwide in scope and historical in depth. To attempt to avoid them leads to really disastrous political errors.

Hallinan proves this when he jumps from the correct point that the American Socialist's main enemy is our own ruling class to the conception that "the SWP must recognize that its enemy is not... the past or present Government of the Soviet Union."

We can make no greater mistake than to forget that the Stalinist bureaucracy which still rules the Soviet Union and its satellites is a mortal enemy of international socialism (As I write these lines, Russian tanks are killing workers in the streets of Budapest, Hungary.)

Look for a moment at some of the crimes of Stalinism against the world working class. (I leave entirely to the side the greater crimes of Stalinism against the Russian workers.)

1.) Coexistence deals with imperialists like Churchill, Hitler, and Roosevelt.

2.) GPU murder of revolutionaries in countries throughout the world—including Spain, Switzerland, France, Mexico and the U. S. A. itself.

3.) Betrayal of revolutionary movements by Stalinist parties in the interest of Russian foreign policy.

4.) The discredit brought on socialist principles by their identification, so vehemently insisted upon both Stalinists and Capitalists, with a totalitarian perversion of socialism.

I agree with Hallinan that politics cannot be based on a desire for revenge. I don't think that's the question, though. Revenge can be left to the workers of Russia and the satellites. The duty of American socialists is to fight these crimes and prevent their repetition by persistently and mercilessly unmasking them—a task which is not completed so long as any political group in America attempts to defend the Stalinist bureaucracy and deny or explain away its crimes. This is not revenge. It is self-defense.

It is also the best service the SWP can give to the cause of Socialist unity. For we can be sure that the American workers will recognize that a Socialist group will not deserve their support unless it clearly, frankly, and openly tells the truth about everything, and in the first instance about the crimes of Stalinism, past and present.

Shane Mage

## Latin America

By Jose Gomez

### ARGENTINA

The ruling forces of Argentina recently celebrated the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Peron regime. The "celebration" took place in a setting of economic confusion and disorder. In recent weeks, labor unrest has existed on a wide scale. There has been a general strike of a million commercial employees, partial strikes of the 150,000 metallurgical workers, threatened strikes by the electrical and maritime workers. The political instability of the regime has resulted in almost daily arrests of union leaders and "Peronists."

As under the Peron regime, all the ailments and contradictions of the system of private property, and of its added semi-colonial features, exist in sharp form. The present government, however, attempts to attribute these problems not to the existing social relations but to the work of Peron and "Peronism."

This is a total falsehood. The obvious fact is that the basic contradictions of Argentine national life flow from the economic system upon which it rests. Peron and "Peronism" were but its products.

In a confused and contradictory way, "Peronism" tried to unite two fundamentally antagonistic forces. These were the national bourgeoisie, which aspired to win political and economic control of the country from the imperialists, and the working masses who were struggling for the realization of their own aspirations against both imperialism and native capital.

It was the anti-imperialist expression "Peronism" gave to both these forces, despite their differing aims, that brought about the open hostility of both the old established land-holding oligarchy and the Wall Street imperialists. Such spokesmen for Wall Street as the New York Times claim that the opposition of these two forces to the Peron regime was motivated by its dictatorial practices. Nothing of the kind! It is a well known fact that these same capitalist forces easily closed their eyes to any dictatorship that is favorable to their material and political interests, and that they themselves are not strangers to the use of dictatorial methods for achieving their aims.

It is also a matter of indisputable fact that more arrests and assassinations of political opponents have taken place in one year under the present Argentine regime, with its mantle of "democracy," than occurred even un-

der the semi-dictatorial rule of Peron.

We can also be sure of another thing. Wall Street did not present the Aramburu regime with a hundred-million dollar loan through the Import-Export Bank simply to celebrate the first anniversary of the "new democracy." They did so only because the Aramburu government has proven that it is "friendly" to Wall Street, and its political agency, the U.S. State Department. The President of the bank described the loan as a "medical" contribution toward ailing Argentine economic life. This injection may serve to alleviate some of the surface symptoms. But it cannot cure the basic ailments of the Argentine system of private property and semi-colonial economic and political rule. The contradictions and social frictions are certain to become even deeper.

### PUERTO RICO

Munoz Marin, the U.S. State Department-dominated Governor of Puerto Rico, has been presented by Freedom House with its 1956 award for leadership in "democracy."

What a mockery of the real meaning of the democratic process in human relations! In light of historic background and development of Puerto Rico, for Marin to claim that he has found "a new form of political freedom in an association of common citizenship with the United States," is simply to express the mentality of a servitor of U.S. imperialism. It is quite easy to understand the feelings of the members of the Puerto Rican Independence Party who picked the dinner where the award to Marin was given. The demonstrators branded Marin a "traitor" and "Benedict Arnold."

Puerto Rico is nothing more or less than a colony of the U.S. It has no genuine sovereignty. It has been granted the sole concession of electing its governor, where previously the governor was a Washington appointee. American domination of Puerto Rico has brought only the freedom to starve.

According to Marin's own administrator of Industrial Development, you will find, on any given day in Puerto Rico, no less than 100,000 unemployed out of a population of two million. An even greater number are so badly underpaid as to qualify for the category of "under-employed."

How can real freedom and democracy exist in a country where one quarter of the population lack the minimum means of subsistence and consequently the basis for any real human dignity?

### DETROIT, Nov. 9—The Friday

Night Socialist Forum of Detroit was two years old this month, and it marked the anniversary tonight with a three-way symposium on the war in Egypt, featuring an Arab exchange student, an American Zionist and a member of the Wayne Young Socialist Club. Attendance at tonight's meeting, the 93rd since it was started in November, 1954, was the largest in its history.

The Forum has truly become what it set out to be—a center, regularly in operation, for the free and open discussion of political, social and economic problems.

A quick run-down on the subjects covered during 1956 alone shows there were three other forums this year on the Middle East (Suez; Algeria; Egypt-Israel relations); on the Poznan revolt; last month's Polish developments; the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union; a debate on the same subject; the crisis in the CPs here and abroad; American foreign policy as viewed from abroad; the H-Bomb and radiation.

### SWP CANDIDATES HEARD

In addition to these international subjects, the election campaign was covered extensively throughout the year. Among the speakers were Farrell Dobbs, Myra Tanner Weiss and Rita Shaw of the Socialist Workers Party.

The fight for civil rights was dealt with in at least seven meetings, including a celebration of Negro History Week at which a local clergyman spoke. One of these heard a report by Farrell Dobbs on his experiences at the Montgomery bus boycott trial; this talk led to the organization of a committee that collected funds and within one month sent a station wagon to Montgomery to help the struggle there.

There were several meetings on the witch hunt. The legless veteran, James Kutcher, spoke at the Forum shortly before he won his 7½-year fight to recover his

job with the Veterans Administration.

There were also talks this year on automation; current economic trends; reviews of books such as Mills' "The Power Elite" and Guerin's "Negroes on the March"; a movie ("Salt of the Earth"); talks on the life and works of Freud, Shaw and Trotsky; a commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Easter Week rebellion in Ireland; a May Day celebration, etc.

Ninety-three talks might seem to have covered everything worth discussing. Not at all. Next Friday, Nov. 16, there will be a debate on "Pacifism or Socialism?" The week after, Nov. 23, the subject will be the Hungarian uprising.

College students attending the Forum say that its educational quality surpasses anything to be found in their school. Opponents of socialism have remarked on the atmosphere of freedom for discussion by anyone in the audience, pro or con. Attendance is not great, ranging from 15 to 60, but no other group in Michigan can point to a similar record of regular and sustained educa-

tional activity these last two years.

Some of the speakers are veterans of the labor and radical movement; others have made their virgin public talk here, and some of them have gone on to become excellent speakers.

### EVERY FRIDAY; 8 SHARP

The forums are followed by coffee and cake, informal discussion, music, and sometimes an organized social affair.

They are held regularly, and have the distinction of beginning promptly on time, every Friday night at 8 sharp.

They are held at the Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, between Selden and Parsons, Detroit; telephone Temple 1-6135.

The hall is large and attractive, and is open every weekday night from 7 to 9 p.m. for the sale of socialist literature. A class on the fundamentals of socialism is held at the hall every Wednesday at 8, under the auspices of the Wayne Young Socialist Club.

Weekly notices of activities at the Debs Hall will be mailed on request to anyone in the Detroit area.

## ...Results of Elections

(Continued from page 1)

publican his program and appeal is that used by liberal Democrats.

For workers, the outstanding fact should be that labor's political action not only lost in the election but that it has imperiled the class voting unity attained in the past two decades.

## NEGROES ON THE MARCH

A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

192 pages \$1.50

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place  
 New York 3, N. Y.

The claim that labor won by preserving the slim Democratic majority in Congress is false. Control of Congress has been delivered again into the hands of the labor-hating, white-supremacist Southern Democratic leaders. Loud talk by liberal Democrats that this time they are going to fight the Southern leadership of the Democratic Party is hollow. They will make their dirty deals with the Southern Bourbons as they always have. No labor or civil rights legislation can be expected from this Congress. The Eastlands and Talmadges will ride high.

The Republicans won the White House, the Democrats won Congress. Big Business won both. Labor lost both. More, labor's political cohesiveness was seriously impaired. This advantage was never put to effective use since the labor bureaucrats kept labor in the Democratic Party. But labor's cohesiveness would have paid off for the working class had it been mobilized for the purpose of launching and campaigning for a labor party. As it is, even among those workers who in disciplined fashion voted a straight Democratic ticket,

there is discouragement about the prospects of labor political action.

Labor's old policy of supporting the Democrats regardless, stands repudiated. It did not hold the working class vote together. It separated labor from the Negro people who could not stomach any more sell-outs by the Democrats. It separated labor from the working farmers who, though economically dissatisfied with Eisenhower, feared the Democratic "war party" more.

Labor must get out of the Democratic blind alley. It must offer the workers and all other elements of the population a party whose program is truly an anti-war program. It must offer its own followers a party with a program that is really pro-labor. It must offer the Negro people a real fighting program for civil rights. It must offer the working farmer a real program to insure his security and end his exploitation by the big interests. Labor cannot offer such alternatives to the American people until it gets out of the Democratic Party and builds its own party—a Labor Party.

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

"Revolution in Hungary"

Fri., Nov. 23 — 8:00 PM

EUGENE V. DEBS HALL

3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

## BOOKS - PAMPHLETS On Socialism and the Labor Movement

Order Free Catalog from:

PIONEER PUBLISHER

116 University Place  
 New York 3, N. Y.



# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## What the Vote Showed

An unmistakable trend in the election returns was the Negro protest against the white supremacist tyranny of the Democratic Party in the South.

Unable to secure their constitutional rights through the courts, they used their ballots, where possible, to express their opposition to the party which oppressed them most directly and most brutally.

The form of the protest was a vote for the Republican presidential candidate, since no other alternative was permitted on the ballot in most states.

As Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary pointed out in a post election statement, President Eisenhower received a heavier vote from predominantly Negro wards than any Republican presidential candidate since 1932.

According to reports received at NAACP headquarters, Eisenhower gains among Negro voters over 1952 returns ranged from 4% in Chicago to 54% in Atlanta. Four assembly districts in Harlem increased their Republican presidential vote from 20.8% in 1952 to 33.7% in 1956.

Significantly, the Negro switch away from the Democratic Party was even sharper in the South. In Louisiana and Kentucky, Negro voters were instrumental in losing those states for the Democrats. And predominantly Negro districts in Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, Louisville, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Atlanta, Greensboro, Birmingham, Mobile, Memphis, Nashville, Charleston, S. C., and many other cities of the traditionally "solid South" cast a majority vote against the Democratic presidential candidate.

For the first time in history, Montgomery, Alabama, scene of a continuing mass protest against Jim Crow, went Republican.

But the Negro rejection of the Democratic Party was by no means an expression of enthusiasm for the Republicans. As the NAACP statement correctly noted:

"There was also, in several Negro districts, a falling off of the vote, seeming to indicate that many voters, dissatisfied with the performance of both major parties, decided to sit this election out. This was true in Philadelphia and in certain other cities."

It should be added that some Negro voters expressed their protest more positively by casting ballots, writing in voters, and sending enthusiastic expressions of support to Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

What form will the political protest of the Negro people take now that the election is over? The two capitalist parties are busily engaged in erasing the factional differences of the election contest. Concentrating on developing a bipartisan foreign policy to suppress anti-imperialist struggles abroad, they have no intention of permitting the Negro struggle for equality to disrupt "unity" at home.

But the awakened political consciousness of the American Negro cannot be turned on and off with election campaigns once every four years. The next step in its development should be to turn from negative protests to the building of a positive alternative along the lines indicated by the Socialist Workers Party.

We must call for the formation of an independent party of the working people of America, a party devoted to settling accounts with oppression at home, rather than diverting the struggle into imperialist adventures abroad.

# U.S. Officer Says Chinese Possess "Ultimate Weapon"

By Henry Gitano

The problem of an army disintegrating on coming in political contact with revolutionary fighters for freedom is a phenomenon that continues to baffle the Pentagon. Major William E. Mayer, army psychiatrist and foremost expert on "brainwashing," has pinpointed the military's dilemma: "If there is an ultimate weapon, it is not a bomb or a gun, but the psychological or ideological weapon as used by the Chinese Communists."

Korean prisoner-of-war camps provided a major challenge to capitalism in the struggle for ideas. Here American soldiers, representatives of the richest and most powerful capitalist country with the highest standard of living in the world met the Chinese, who had barely emerged from feudalism. The result of the ideological struggle was a decisive defeat for capitalism. At least one third of the American prisoners of war "cooperated"; 70% "contributed wittingly or unwittingly to Communist propaganda efforts." These facts are torturing Washington's strategists for world domination by Wall Street.

## PLANTING DOUBTS

Having interviewed over 1,000 former prisoners from Korea, Major Mayer, after a four-year study, rules out physical force as the problem. In the Aug. 12 New York Times, he said the chances are 100 to one against experiencing mistreatment or torture. "The Communist captors begin by winning the prisoners' trust with kindness and pretend friendship. . . . At the same time a subtle but intensive program of education plants doubts in the minds of the prisoners regarding some traditional American political and economic values, particularly that of free enterprise." Here is the "ultimate weapon": sympathetic treatment and anti-capitalist propaganda. Through

it "many prisoners come to serve Communist ends." The prisoners became so docile that in one instance cited by Mayer, a camp of 600 American prisoners "was run successfully by six Communist guards" with only one strand of wire between the prisoners and freedom. Mayer also said that "despite extraordinary light restraints," of the 4,000 Americans captured in Korea not a single successful escape occurred and that at least one third "cooperated."

## A SHOCK FOR TOP BRASS

In an interview with U.S. News and World Report last Feb. 24, Mayer stated that "About one third of all the American prisoners said they became something called 'progressive.' By the Communists' own definition, this meant that a man was either a Communist sympathizer or a collaborator—or both—during his stay in a prison camp."

That so many American troops defected is to Mayer "a great shock. We have never, to my knowledge seen anything on this scale." The Germans and Japanese during World War II attempted to win over Americans without success. What is the Chinese secret?

The Americans also had prisoners. These POW's in South Korean camps by their continuous demonstrations, opened up a veritable Second Front in the rear of Rhee's dictatorship and pinned down a vast number of American troops.

Mayer admits that force was not used as a weapon by the Chinese. "This third that I am talking about were not subjected to physical torture, according to their own statements." The Chinese made an "extremely thorough" and "highly objective" study of the "American character." When the American prisoner "begins to suspect that what they are saying is a derogatory way about America is true, this shakes him right down to his boots."

The Chinese were not "ranting and raving about the evils of America. . . . They merely purport to show you the side of it that you don't know. . . . It is possible to do this with perfectly good American authors. . . . by emphasizing company police, such things as sweatshop conditions. . . . by emphasizing segregation, by emphasizing the evils surrounding the lives of helpless migratory workers."

"Another facet was the desire of American soldiers to end this senseless slaughter. 'Capitalizing upon a sure-fire theme: the unpopularity of the Korean war. This was a subject dear to the heart of many a soldier.' By using capitalist publications such as Fortune, Time and the Wall

Street Journal, the Chinese, says Mayer, showed that business was improving during the Korean war, and that those who profited were at least favorably disposed to war.

It is not surprising, when Mayer admits that "a rather bright youngster might be more easily trapped into agreement with many of their expressed or stated ideas than would be a less intelligent person."

The Korean POW camps gave us a preview of a battle for men's minds, American capitalism was challenged; with the chips down, the bluff was called, the ensuing debacle suffered by American Big Business is astounding and confusing only to its representatives.

## FIRST TASTE

American capitalism has only been treated to a first taste. The Chinese Communist Party regime fought the battle for the American soldiers' allegiance with anti-capitalist propaganda. What happens when reaction is faced with genuine revolutionary ideas as written in the proud pages of the Russian Revolution?

The Chief of Staff of the Czarist Black Fleet says in his memoirs: "From the first days of the (1917) Revolution it was clear to me that it was impossible to wage war, and that the war was lost." The Czarist Commander of the Second Army, Danilov, wrote: "Only 50% of the reinforcements are arriving. If they continue to melt away in the future, and are equally undisciplined, we cannot count on the success of the offensive."

Sukhanov, a political opponent of Lenin and Trotsky in his vivid description of the Russian Revolution relates how: "It was necessary to take the Peter Paul quickly. . . . two methods were proposed for taking over the Fortress. Antonov proposed to bring in a reliable battalion of the Pavlovskys immediately and disarm the garrison of the Fortress. . . . Trotsky had another proposal, namely, that he, Trotsky, go to the Fortress, hold a meeting there, and capture not the body but the spirit of the garrison. . . . No sooner said than done. . . . Their harangues were enthusiastically received. The garrison, almost unanimously, passed a resolution about the Soviet regime and its own readiness to rise up, weapons in hand, against the bourgeois government. . . . A hundred thousand extra rifles were in the hands of the Bolsheviks."

In the experience of the Korean POW's the forces of American capitalist reaction can detect in embryonic form their own disintegration.

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1956

NUMBER 47

# Our Reader Take the Floor

## A Fighter For the Franchise

Editor:

We hear a lot about "free elections" and "free political parties" in this country. Indeed, our Republican Administration is so proud of its "democratic processes" that, this year, it invited a delegation of observers from the Soviet Union to witness them first-hand. Great pains were undertaken to demonstrate the impunity with which Democratic and Republican contestants were permitted to impugn one another. "But," one may justifiably ask, "just how much of a contest can it be when both candidates represent the same class interests and hide behind bi-partisan chicanery on all the basic issues?" Where is that OPPOSITION then, without which no election can be really free? Where are the minority trends so indigenous to a truly democratic society? Can it be that somewhere behind this facade of "democratic processes" there lurks an organized conspiracy to prevent unpopular parties from manifesting themselves before the public eye? Our questions can be most adequately answered, by presenting a case-in-point which was related to this writer.

X. had decided to cast her vote for the Socialist Workers Party. Upon learning that the SWP had been deprived of ballot status this year by the Secretary of the State of New York, she wired the office of Carmine DeSapio for an explanation. The reply was fraught with demagoguery, but the point was clear: the SWP

had been arbitrarily struck from the ballot by the boss of Tammany Hall, and a time loophole invoked to prevent the organization from submitting the issue to the courts for due process.

X. consoled herself that there was still the write-in open to her; and so, early on election day, she went to her local polling place, entered the voting booth, and lifted the write-in latch. Finding a name already written in the space, she called an attendant who rationalized: "I can't do anything about it—you'll have to skip that vote." But X. was familiar with the election law, and was determined not to lose her franchise. Another attendant was called. Same story. A police sergeant was called. "Young woman," he boomed, "do you expect me to hold up this whole voting line for the sake of one write-in vote?"

"Yes, sir." The police captain was called, who proceeded to send for an inspector from the Board of Elections. More than two and a half hours later—amid threats of fine and jail, and the arrival of three radio cars on the scene—a repair-man arrived, and X. was able to register her vote for the SWP.

Later that day, X. "closed" a public school in her district, on behalf of a neighborhood political club. By 9:30 P.M., the Republican, Democratic, and Liberal voters had been tallied, and the attendant started to close the machine. "What about the write-ins?" queried X.

"There are none," answered the attendant. "See, the tape is blank?" Of course the "outside" of the tape was blank: it had to be removed, unrolled, and reversed to count the write-ins. The attendant snapped that only the captain knew how to do this, and since he had gone home a half hour ago, no write-ins would be counted on this machine. X. however threatened to phone Governor Harriman and have the booth locked-up, until the write-ins were counted; whereupon, the attendant "miraculously" discovered how to remove the tape, and six write-ins were found therein.

X. glanced at the official tabulation of the canvasser from the Board of Elections, but could not find the six votes recorded there. "Well," the canvasser responded to an interrogation, "there's no space on my card for write-in votes, so I guess we don't count them." X. then quoted lengthily from the election law, which specifically stipulates that all bal-

lots are to be recorded and kept for public record. Still the canvasser refused!

The pattern had clearly emerged to X. at this point: first the minority parties are thrown off the ballot, then it is made almost impossible for a write-in to be cast; third—if a write-in vote does happen to slip past—it isn't counted anyway. Thus, not only are the minority parties handicapped in attaining ballot status in the next election, but neither have they any means of discerning their actual support! It's all a gigantic top-to-bottom conspiracy against electoral democracy—a conspiracy from the Department of State, through the Board of Elections, down to the local polling places.

Before our Administration goes around to other nations, expounding the virtues of "bourgeois democracy," I wonder perhaps if it wouldn't be asking too much to first establish free elections and free political parties on its home-ground! Cynthia Speare

## Racists Stage New Louisville Frame-Up

LOUISVILLE, KY., Nov. 10 — Southern Bourbons are again taking the lead in showing cops how to turn justice on its head. Vernon Bown will be tried Nov. 20 on the charge of dynamiting the home of a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade IV, in June, 1954. Bown is a white man who moved in with the Wades to help protect the family from the violence of hoodlums in a so-called white neighborhood in suburban Shively!

Bown was indicted in Sept., 1954, during a grand jury session which was turned into an inquiry into the political beliefs and reading habits of white supporters of the Wades, including Carl and Anne Braden.

(Last year, Carl Braden was convicted on a charge of "conspiracy" after he helped the Wades buy their house. This conviction in the case of the "Louisville Defendants" was later reversed in the Court of Appeals.)

Last February, Police Chief Carl Heustis of Louisville testified that James I. Rene, the builder of the house, or his son was the chief suspect in the Wade bombing. The younger Rene has been a leader in the racist White Citizens Council.

# Puerto Rican Pickets Hit N.Y. Sweatshops

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 — Thousands of Puerto Rican workers in this city are being exploited daily by unscrupulous sweat shop owners and their union bureaucrat stooges.

Despite the "booming prosperity" which is daily touted in the capitalist press these workers are compelled to work under intolerable conditions at pauper wages to eke out a bare existence.

More and more of these workers are turning to strike action as the only weapon to improve their conditions.

An example is the six week old strike against the Mogan Leather Goods Co., and the Rudee Leather Goods Co., both located at 33 Greene Street in lower Manhattan.

The two sweat shops normally employ about 85 workers and are under contract to Local 1648, Retail Clerks International Association (AFL-CIO).

The reason for the strike and the events leading up to it were explained by a young Puerto Rican striker who had been an employee for nearly two years. During that time he received no raise, no holidays, no vacation — nothing! His pay was \$2.50 over the minimum wage of \$40 a week paid to most of the other employees.

## ASSESSMENT FLEECE

He translated the remarks of a Spanish-speaking woman striker who said: "I worked here for five years. I never spoke to a union representative, never been to a union meeting, and never heard of any union event or activity."

Despite their meager wages the workers paid three dollars a month in dues, and in the time he had worked the young striker remembered having one six-dollar and one twelve-dollar union assessment deducted from his pay. "We didn't even know what it was for," he said bitterly.

Last August, the workers found out that the union "leadership" had signed a new contract behind their backs which granted no improvements whatever. Angered by this flagrant denial of their right to be heard on a matter that affected their livelihood, several workers got together and began circulating an NLRB petition for a new election.

On Oct. 3, the young striker explained, the two sweat shop bosses stepped back into the picture. Aided by a squad of cops they informed the workers on the job that they were all fired. Since that time a picket line has been maintained under the leadership of the independent Workers Organizing Committee.

The WOC, which is engaged in a similar strike at Andor Co., 26 Bruckner Blvd., Bronx, has no offices. However, it is reported that Robert Mozer, a lawyer and national educational director of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) is involved in directing its activities.

As a result of ACTU influence the emphasis in the strike has not been on the grievances against the bosses, but an attack on racketeering in local 1648. For example one picket sign reads "We Will Win Over GANGAREMOS [gangsters] And Beat The Rackets."

It makes us happy to print letters like the following from P.R.M. of Toronto, Canada:

"Dear Comrades: I have just received the Oct. 8 Militant and am much impressed with the paper. The Bolshevik standards that the Militant has maintained throughout its years of publication has made it necessary reading for all serious revolutionists here in Canada."

NAACP GIVES HELP

Apparently with the cooperation of local 1648's leadership, the two shops are operating, though on a reduced schedule. Some 30 workers report at work each day. A few are former Puerto Rican employees and the remainder are Negroes.

## New York Christmas Bazaar

The annual Christmas Bazaar of the New York School of Social Science will be held Saturday, Dec. 8, from 12 noon to 5 P. M., at 116 University Place.

Silver jewelry, Mexican pottery, out-of-print books and many other valuable items have already been donated for sale by friends and merchants. The bazaar committee requests the donations of other attractive or usable items, such as men's, women's, or children's clothing, to round out their display. If contributions cannot be sent to 116 University Place, call Algonquin 5-7852 and they will be collected.

## Screening Victim Wins Job Back at N.Y. Sperry Plant

NOV. 11—Daniel Lenihan, who was fired by Sperry Gyroscope for Long Island because he refused to become an informer for the FBI, has won his job back after 33 months of legal fighting.

Lenihan had worked for Sperry Gyroscope for 14 years when on Jan. 27, 1954, he and ten other men were fired "for security reasons." The charge was that in the past, until 1950, Lenihan had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is one of hundreds of organizations arbitrarily declared "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General's office. The Attorney General has refused repeated requests by the SWP for a public hearing on the "subversive" listing.

Lenihan was not fired from his job during the time he was charged with being a member of the SWP, but only years later, when he was approached by the FBI and rejected their proposal to become an informer.

Involved in the Lenihan case is the right to political ideas without interference with job rights. Charges against six of the original eleven fired were dismissed in 1954. The Lenihan was fired for the fight of the remaining four to regain their jobs and their rights.

The "subversive" firings of the union militants occurred during negotiations for a strike, proving again that the union itself is the target in red-baiting attacks. The local of the International Union of Electrical Workers to which the eleven belong recognized this and voted unanimously to support their fight for reinstatement. Lenihan's attorney is Irving Abrahamson of District 4 of the IUEW.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

We reached great new audiences during the election campaign, particularly through the SWP TV and radio appearances, and this, combined with the 50 cents for three months sub offer brought in a rush of new Militant subs. Now that the intensity of the election is over, new campaigns are being organized by the branches to contact the many listeners who responded to our broadcasts.

New York and Boston report almost doubled newsstand sales beginning with the period of the revolution in Hungary and the attacks on Egypt.

From Chicago, Carol Houston writes that Gabe and Beverly Winters sold 27 Militants to a "crowd" on 54, mostly couples, when Friedman of the Socialist Party spoke at the University of Chicago. Lou Griffin and George Houston sold 33 papers that same evening to an NAACP meeting.

John Tabor of New York sent in 28 50-cent subs and several six months subs last week and this week there were 30 50-cent subs and a six months sub. He writes, "Pete Nichols and Janet Nason have gone house to house in East Harlem each Sunday for five weeks and turned in a total of 25 subs. Consistent work by John Adams brought in 16 subs. Janet and Pete say they are happy about this work, and that the workers respond and welcome them into their homes to discuss."

Nick James reports consistent work in San Francisco and Jean Karloff of Buffalo sends in money for 12 subs, mostly sold at the Dobbs meeting.

From Detroit, John Collins writes that 63 Militants were sold at an Adam Clayton Powell meeting in a half-hour by Doty Lessing and Edie Marshall. They

## A Special Offer!

How can a worker better his economic conditions and more effectively fight for lasting peace? How can the Negroes and other minorities advance their struggle for complete political, social and economic equality? What is the program of the Socialist Workers Party? For clear-cut answers to these questions get a three-month introductory subscription to The Militant for only 50 cents.

## The Militant

116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

## Los Angeles

Announcing the opening of  
The  
School of International  
Socialism  
Fall and Winter Session  
1956-57  
Beginning Sat., Nov. 24

FIRST CLASS:  
The Progress  
Of American Philosophy  
— Marxism vs.  
Pragmatism  
Eight Lectures by  
by William F. Warde

Second Class:  
The Defense of the  
Soviet Union  
A Seminar  
Conducted by T. Edwards  
1702 East 4th Street  
ANGELUS 9-4953  
Auspices:  
Socialist Workers Party

## Mountain Spring Camp

Spend  
Thanksgiving Day  
In The Country!

PLENTY OF TURKEY, with all the trimmings. You'll find a friendly atmosphere — bring the family  
\$2.00 for Turkey Dinner  
3.00 for two meals  
1.00 for children under 6  
1.50 for children under 12  
5.00 a day for the week-end  
Phone ALgonquin 5-7852  
For Reservations and transportation